

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 /026 W

----- 112403

P 301932Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8996

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 11083

EXDIS

NESCO

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1

SUBJECT: OUTLOOK FOR ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUES AT 97TH  
SESSION OF UNESCO EXECUTIVE BOARD

REFS: (A) STATE 46616; (B) BAGHDAD 333

1. PERMDEL SUBMITS FOLLOWING ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT  
STATUS AND OUTLOOK CONCERNING ARAB-ISRAELI POLITICAL  
ISSUES IN CONTEXT FORHCOMING 97TH SESSION OF UNESCO  
EXECUTIVE BOARD TO ASSIST DEPARTMENT IN PREPARATIONS.

2. OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES: DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL  
THAT AGENDA ITEM 9.5 -- REPORT OF DG ON EDUCATIONAL AND  
CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS IN OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES --  
HAS BEEN DELETED FROM EXBD AGENDA AT INTERVENTION OF  
M'BOW AND EXBD CHAIRMAN (WYNTER, JAMAICA). THIS ACTION,  
IN PERMDEL VIEW, WAS FIRST STRONG INDICATION OF EFFORTS  
QUIETLY BEING UNDERTAKEN BY SECRETARIAT TO PRECLUDE  
EXBD DELIBERATIONS ON ARAB-ISRAELI RELATED ISSUES TO  
GREATEST POSSIBLE EXTENT.

3. PLO PERMANENT OBSERVER MISSION ISSUE: AS OF NOW  
PLO-ARABS HAVE NOT ASKED INSCRIPTION ON EXBD AGENDA OF  
ITEM SEEKING EXBD ACTION TO ACCORD PERM OBSERVER MISSION

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STATUS TO PLO. INSTEAD PLO APPARENTLY AWAITING RESULTS

OF EXCHANGE-OF-LETTER FORMULA AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED TO DEPT. DAHOMEYAN BOARD MEMBER AND CLOSE M'BOW CONFIDANT BOISSIER-PALUN TOLD DEPUTY PERMREP APRIL 30 THAT PLO HAD SUBMITTED LETTER APRIL 28 OR 29 TO DG WHICH REPORTEDLY SIMPLY ADVISES OF DESIGNATION OF IBRAHIM SOUSS AS PLO'S PERMANENT OBSERVER IN CONTEXT COLLABORATION WITH SECRETARIAT UNDER RELEVANT 18TH GC RESOLUTIONS. (DEPT. REFERRED TO RESOLUTIONS 6.33, 13.1, 17.3, 18.2, AND SECTION II, PARA 12 OF RES. 11.1). BOISSIER-PALUN OBSERVED ACCURATELY THAT M'BOW HAS REJECTED AS NON-RECEIVABLE PREVIOUS PLO LETTER ASKING DG TO ACCREDIT A PLO PERMANENT OBSERVER MISSION AT UNESCO HQ.

4. AT M'BOW'S REQUEST, BOISSIER-PALUN ASKED DEPUTY PERMREP TO ADVISE OF USG REACTION TO THIS SECOND PLO LETTER. M'BOW NOW CONSIDERING HIS RESPONSE AND BOISSIER INDICATED USG REACTION WOULD BE IMPORTANT ELEMENT BEARING ON M'BOW'S DECISION ON HOW TO REPLY TO PLO.

5. FURTHER, WYNTER HAS ADVISED THAT PLO HAS SENT LETTER TO HIM AS BOARD CHAIRMAN, ASKING RIGHT TO ATTEND EXBD SESSIONS IN ACCORDANCE PLO INTERPRETATION OF "SPIRIT" OF 18 GC RESOLUTION 17.3 GRANTING PLO OBSERVER RIGHTS AT GENERAL CONFERENCE SESSIONS AND 18 GC RES. 18.2 AMENDING UNESCO REGULATIONS ON MEETINGS.

6. WYNTER, IN CONSULTATION WITH M'BOW, CONSIDERING POSSIBILITY GRANTING SUCH REQUEST WITHOUT NECESSITY OF REFERRING ISSUE TO EXBD FOR DISCUSSION OR VOTE.

7. OUR READING OF SITUATION IS THAT ARABS-PLO WOULD PREFER NOT REPEAT NOT TO BRING ISSUE BEFORE EXBD IN DEFERENCE CLEAR AFRICAN WISHES TO AVOID CONFRONTATION THAT WOULD BE DAMAGING TO UNESCO AND, BY EXTENSION, TO M'BOW PERSONALLY. HOWEVER, THIS PREFERENCE NEVERTHELESS QUALIFIED BY KNOWLEDGE THAT NECESSARY VOTES TO WIN CAN BE COUNTED UPON IF ISSUE GOES BEFORE BOARD. EXCHANGE-OF-LETTERS TACTIC THAT PLO PURSUING NOW, APPARENTLY THEREFORE SEEKS COMPROMISE BY WHICH UNESCO'S

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DG NOT CALLED UPON TO GRANT PLO PERM OBSERVER MISSION BUT BY SAME TOKEN DOES NOT REJECT PLO'S UNILATERAL DESIGNATION OF SOUSS AS PERMANENT OBSERVER.

8. DEPARTMENT REQUESTED TO ADVISE US POSITION IN ORDER TO ALLOW PERMDEL REPLY TO M'BOW THROUGH BOISSIER-PALUN.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8997

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9. 18TH GC RESOLUTIONS RE ISRAEL: CLEAR CONSENSUS OF ALL PERMDELS CONCERNED HERE IS THAT NO REPEAT NO ACTION WHATSOEVER SHOULD BE ATTEMPTED WITH REGARD TO MODERATION OR NULLIFICATION OF 18TH GC RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS CONCERNING ISRAEL. OUR SOUNDINGS INDICATE BROAD FEELING THAT RE-OPENING OF THESE QUESTIONS CERTAIN TO (A) PROVOKE BITTER CONFRONTATION AMONG BOARD MEMBERS AND (B) MOST IMPORTANTLY, WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT RESULT IN SOFTENING, MUCH LESS REPEAL OR REVERSAL OF 18TH GC ACTIONS. INDEED OUTCOME OF ANY SUCH INITIATIVE MIGHT WELL BE FURTHER CRITICISM OF ISRAELIS, RATHER THAN CONCILIATORY GESTURE, AND COULD EXTEND TO OPEN CRITICISM SO FAR AVOIDED OF US CUT-OFF OF ITS CONTRIBUTION.

10. IN THIS CONTEXT, PERMDELS OF WEO'S ON BOARD (BELGIUM, FRANCE, FRG, ITALY, UK) HAVE CONSISTENTLY EXPRESSED VIEW TO US PERMDEL THAT PASSIONS AROUSED BY 18TH GC HAVE NOT YET COOLED SUFFICIENTLY TO FAVOR CONCILIATORY ACTION. WEO'S, INDEED, HAVE INDICATED THEIR HOPES THAT PERMDEL, IN ACCORDANCE DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS (REFTEL (A)) TO DESIST FROM FURTHER EXPLORATION WITH WEO'S OF POSSIBLE AMELIORATIVE MEASURES, HAS TAKEN NO INITIATIVE AND INDICATED TO WEO'S THAT US TAKES NO ACTION AT THIS TIME.

11. ARABS HAVE CLEARLY BEEN STUNG BY CRITICISMS IN

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WESTERN MEDIA-INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES OF UNESCO AND ARABS ANTI-ISRAELI MEASURES AFTER LAST FALL'S GENERAL CONFERENCE. MOREOVER ARABS PRESUMABLY WELL AWARE THAT THEY CALLED IN MANY POLITICAL DEBTS OWED THEM BY AFRICAN STATES TO PUSH THROUGH 18TH GC DECISIONS. ARABS THEREFORE WISH TO AVOID RE-OPENING OF ARAB-ISRAELI CONTROVERSIES BUT LIKELY TO COUNTER WITH HOSTILE RESOLUTIONS IF, IN THEIR PERCEPTION OF THINGS, THE ISSUE IS "FORCED" BY A WESTERN, ESPECIALLY US, INITIATIVE TO RE-CONSIDER SUBSTANCE OF 18TH GC DECISIONS. PERMDEL REFERS DEPT. TO REFTEL (B) ADVISING IRAQI CIRCULAR NOTICE IN BAGHDAD ON MARCH 24 WHICH DENOUNCED ALLEGED EFFORTS OF "US DELEGATION TO UNESCO IN EXERTING PRESSURE" TO HAVE EXBD "RECONSIDER" 18 GC REJECTION OF ISRAELI MEMBERSHIP IN EUROPEAN REGIONAL GROUP. PERMDEL EXPERIENCE IS THAT ARAB HARD-LINERS PREVAIL OVER MODERATES IN ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTES IN UNESCO.

12. AFRICANS, AS IN INSTANCE OF PLO ISSUE, CLEARLY HOPE THAT ANY ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUE WILL BE AVOIDED AT THIS EXBD IN INTEREST OF PROTECTING M'BOW FROM CERTAIN CONFRONTATION THAT WOULD RESULT. EXEMPLARY OF THIS FEELING WAS SENEGALESE DEPUTY PERMREP'S ASSESSMENT TO DELOFF ON APRIL 28 THAT ANY RE-OPENING OF SUBSTANCE OF 18TH GC RESOLUTIONS "CERTAIN TO THROW OIL ON THE FLAMES" AND COULD PROVOKE ARAB-PLO COUNTERATTACK, CONCEIVABLY INCLUDING EFFORT TO BRING PLO ISSUE BEFORE BOARD.

13. RE OTHER GROUPINGS: LATIN AMERICANS IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS, SIMILAR TO WEO'S, DO NOT THINK THIS BOARD SESSION PROPITIOUS FOR TREATING 18 GC RESOLUTIONS AND THEREFORE HOPE ISSUE WILL BE AVOIDED; ASIANS DISINTERESTED AND CERTAINLY NOT WILLING TO CONFRONT ARABS. SOVIETS-EE CLEARLY READY TO SUPPORT ARABS IF REQUIRED, ALTHOUGH SOVIETS-EE DO NOT WISH TO SEE DISPUTE ARISE.

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14. ALTHOUGH NOT LIKELY SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION RESOLUTIONS PASSED 18TH GENCONF PRODUCTIVE THIS EXBD, INFORMAL SOUNDINGS CHAIRMAN WYNTER AND BELGIUM AMBASSADOR VAN USSEL RAISE POSSIBILITY OF RESOLUTION SUPPORTING M'BOW'S EFFORTS TO AVOID POLARIZATION AND ENDORSING HIS REMARKS CLOSING GEN CONF MAY BE INTRODUCED THIS SESSION. DISCUSSIONS WITH AMB. VAN USSEL, BELGIUM, INDICATES HE IS CONTEMPLATING INTRODUCING SUCH A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD REAFFIRM BASIC GOALS OF UNESCO AND CONCUR WITH THE DG THAT "UNESCO CAN CARRY OUT ITS MISSION ONLY IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF SERENITY, AND FRANK AND PATIENT DIALOGUE", AND FULLY ENDORSES THE DG'S "URGENT APPEAL FOR TOLERANCE AND UNDERSTANDING" WHILE REAFFIRMING A COMMITMENT TO THE GOALS AND PRINCIPLES OF UNESCO. VAN USSEL CONFIRMED TO PERMREP HE IS PLANNING, ASSUMING CONCURRENCE HIS GOVT., TO INTRODUCE SOMETHING ALONG THESE LINES AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME DURING THE EXBD MEETING. PRACTICALLY SPEAKING THIS MAY BE THE MOST LIKELY STEP TO SUCCEED AND CAN OPEN THE DOOR FOR FURTHER ACTION AT A LATER DATE.  
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